

In 1969 the war had been going on for twenty-three years: no magic figure, but a long time. It had been four years since the heavy bombing had started and the troops went over, and that was a long time, too. (It was longer than we had fought in World War II: and we had dropped already half again more bombs). ^{The bombing was just half over.} It was long enough ~~for there~~ ^{to have been} an election three years after the troops were sent, and since they hadn't won and it was ~~new~~ clear to the public that they weren't going to, there was now new president ~~xxxxxxx~~ running the war, ^{on} ~~that is~~ supposedly, ending it: since ^{both} ~~each~~ party, ^{each} hoping to win, had nominated a candidate in the third year of heavy fighting -- a year in which the Tet Offensive had burnt away the mist of ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{victory hopes--} who had promised to end the war.

When the spring passed without clear signs of the war's immediate end, no one was too worried, since negotiations had just opened and it seemed natural that the new president would need ^{his new information} to adapt his plan for ending the war to the details of the situation. The student, who was ~~xxxxx~~ ^{James Rector,} killed by police gunfire, by mistake, at the end of the spring term at Berkeley had not been demonstrating against the war--in fact he, personally, had not been demonstrating ^{at all, he was watching from a rooftop--} against anything--but was the ~~xxxxxxx~~ spectator-victim of the University of California's and Berkeley police's efforts to close down a People's Park so that the University could go ahead with its plans to make it a parking-lot. The fact that helicopter dropped teargas on the students and Berkeley residents, using a technique developed in Vietnam and used, up till then, only over there, was taken as an early postwar phenomenon, an aspect of the wartime technology coming back home, ^{as the war ended.} ~~the war being almost over.~~

When four young veterans of the McCarthy campaign the year before began, at the start of the summer, to organize for an antiwar campaign in the fall, there were little reason to think that the ~~campuses~~ ^{students} would show much interest. ^{It was generally believed that} the antiwar movement had died away sometime after Chicago, if there was any point in the proposed "moratorium" by that time anyway. But by late summer, people were getting impatient--more of them than anyone guessed, before October 15--with the only sign by then of the form in which the campaign promises were being observed, a very small troop withdrawal announced at Guam, along with a new "Doctrine" that didn't appear to apply to Vietnam, and plans for

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for reequipping the Vietnamese Army.

By ~~September~~ September, very many people were coming to feel that the new Administration needed strong nudging to recall the promises on which it had been elected, before it too got stuck on the Vietnam tarbaby, or in the most popular image, marched too far into the quagmire. I, too, had been warned by a friend about to leave the White House staff, that the new team appeared, disastrously, to believe that it would achieve what its predecessor had not, that it was not, as of that moment, planning to get out. That seemed to me terrible. I began to try to think of ways that might encourage them to change that course, that would save them-- and all of us, Vietnamese and Americans--from repeating the mistakes of ~~xxxxxxx~~ of my former colleagues. By the end of the month that might help,--none individually very promising-- I had thought of several things and was in the midst of trying them simultaneously. One of them, I thought, was likely to put me in prison for the rest of my life.

In early October, 1969, Sam Brown, Dave Mixner, David Hawk and Marjorie _____ were busying phoning all over the country to organize the first antiwar "moratorium" day scheduled for October 15. I was drafting a letter, ~~xxxxxxxNewYorkTimes~~ with five colleagues at Pand, to be sent to the New York Times calling for US withdrawal from Vietnam within one year, and at night, copying the Pentagon Papers to give them to Senator Fulbright.

Dave Dellinger, Douglas Dowd, Cora Weiss, Sid Lens, and a dozen or so other organizers, Quakers, pacifists, ~~xxxx~~ young antiwar activists, a Communist and ~~xxxx~~ several Trotskyists ~~xxxx~~ joining together, were planning a March Against Death in Washington for November 15, to coincide with the second moratorium day and bring, they hoped, the largest antiwar ~~xxxxxx~~ crowd ever gathered to the capital.

In the White House, a small group of young staffers under Henry Kissinger --Anthony Lake, Roger Morris, Larry Lynn and Bill Watts, along with Col. Haig and ----- were working, at Kissinger's direction, ~~xx~~ on civilian plans to complement a previously-prepared military plan for the total devastation of North Vietnam, to commence and to be announced by the president on November 3.